

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 3779

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CY TU

SUBJ: TURKISH MFA WORKING LEVEL VIEWS ON CYPRUS

1. AFTER BRIEF DISCUSSION MAY 13 WITH DCM OF UPCOMING SECRETARY'S VISIT TO ANKARA (SEPTEL), MFA DEPUTY DIRECTOR GREEK-CYPRUS AFFAIRS GUVENDIREN GAVE HIS VIEWS ON CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CYPRUS SITUATION.

2. AFTER STATING THAT WHAT HE WAS ABOUT TO SAY WAS PURELY PERSONAL, GUVENDIREN REFERRED TO REPORTED STATEMENT MADE BY BITSIOS IN ROME TO THE EFFECT THAT THE "PRE-REQUISITE" TO A SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM WAS THE RETURN OF 200,000 REFUGEES TO THEIR HOMES. GUVENDIREN SAID HE HOPED THAT BITSIOS HAD SAID THIS FOR PROPAGANDA PURPOSES AND THAT HE DID NOT RPT NOT REALLY BELIEVE IT HIMSELF.

3. IT WAS AN "OPEN SECRET" CONTINUED GUVENDIREN, THAT 60,000
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GREEK CYPRIOTS HAD LEFT THE ISLAND SINCE THE JULY-AUGUST 1974

EVENTS. (THIS DESPITE EFFORTS OF THE GOG AND MAKARIOS TO DISCOURAGE SUCH MOVEMENT.) MOREOVER, GUVENDIREN WENT ON, SINCE 1974 55,000 TURKS HAD MOVED TO THE NORTH OF THE ISLAND LEAVING THEIR FARMS AND PROPERTY BEHIND. THE UN ITSELF ESTIMATED THAT THERE WERE ONLY 187,000 GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES. GUVENDIREN SAID NO ACTUAL CENSUS HAD BEEN TAKEN ON THE ISLAND FOR A LONG TIME, AND THE POPULATION MAPS HAD ALL BEEN MADE BY GREEKS. HENCE THE VARIOUS DISCREPANCIES IN THE FIGURES.

4. FOR THE SAKE OF ARGUMENT, SAID GUVENDIREN, LET US ASSUME THAT 150,000 GREEKS CYPRIOTS WERE DISPLACED AS RESULT OF THE 1974 EVENTS. SUBTRACT THE 60,000 WHO HAD LEFT THE ISLAND, AND ONE WAS DOWN TO 90,000. THERE WERE IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE ISLAND ABANDONED TURKISH HOUSES, FIELDS, AND VILLAGES READY TO ACCOMMODATE 55,000 OF THESE REFUGEES. IN ADDITION, THERE REMAINED 8 TO 10,000 TURKS IN THE SOUTH WHO WANTED TO MOVE NORTH. IF THIS WERE PERMITTED AND THEIR HOUSES TAKEN OVER BY GREEKS, THEN THE NUMBER OF GREEK DISPLACED PERSONS TO BE ACCOMMODATED WOULD BE REDUCED TO 25,000.

5. IN ADDITION TO THE FOREGOING, CONTINUED GUVENDIREN, THERE WERE "PLACES OUTSIDE THE TURKISH BOUNDARY OVER AND ABOVE THE OTHER TURKISH AREAS WHICH WERE STILL STRONGLY DEFENDED BY TURKS. THE GREEKS CANNOT ENTER THOSE PLACES." IF AN OVERALL AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED, PERHAPS 3 TO 5,000 GREEKS COULD BE SETTLED IN THESE PLACES.

6. DCM REFERRED TO GUVENDIREN'S PREVIOUS STATEMENT ABOUT UNRELIABILITY OF CYPRIOT POPULATION STATISTICS AND ASKED IF GUVENDIREN THOUGHT THAT GREEK SIDE COULD ACCEPT MATHEMATICS OF SITUATION AS SET FORTH BY GUVENDIREN. GUVENDIREN ADMITTED THAT HIS FIGURES COULD BE CALLED INTO QUESTION, AND NUMBERS COULD BE DISCUSSED BETWEEN GREEKS AND TURKS, BUT POINT AT ISSUE WAS WHETHER BISSIOS WANTED TO TALK ABOUT THE PROBLEM IN REALISTIC TERMS WITH CAGLAYANGIL.

7. IN ANY EVENT, SAID GUVENDIREN, MATTERS RELATING TO BOUNDARIES AND DISPLACED PERSONS SHOULD BE DISCUSSED ONLY AFTER RPT AFTER AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED ON THE FORM AND POWERS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS. THE BIZONAL SOLUTION WAS THE CONFIDENTIAL

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ONLY VIABLE ONE WHICH WOULD ALLOW TWO COMMUNITIES WHO HATED EACH OTHER TO LIVE TOGETHER WITH A MINIMUM OF FRICTIONS. THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD HAVE AUTHORITY IN SUCH "GENERAL MATTERS" AS FOREIGN POLICY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. SINCE IT WOULD BE FEDERAL STATE THE TWO COMMUNITIES SHOULD CONSTRUCT THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT ON THE BASIS OF EQUALITY. IF AGREEMENT ON THESE GENERAL PRINCIPLES COULD BE REACHED IN A SPIRIT OF ACCOMMODATION BY KARAMANLIS AND DEMIREL, SAID GUVENDIREN, THEN THE

CYPRUS PROBLEM COULD BE SOLVED FOR ALL TIME. GUVENDIREN'S FINAL POINT WAS THAT GUARANTEES WOULD BE REQUIRED FOR ANY SOLUTION AND THAT THE TURKS WOULD NOT ACCEPT "OUTSIDE" GUARANTEES, I.E., TURKEY WOULD NOT ACCEPT A UN GUARANTEE AND EXPECTS TO BE ONE OF THE GUARANTORS ITSELF.

8. IN THE NEXT PART OF HIS REMARKS, GUVENDIREN (SAYING HE WAS ON THIS SUBJECT EXPRESSING THE OFFICIAL GOT VIEW) BERATED THE CLUMSINESS AND INEPTITUDE OF BRITISH BEHAVIOR AT THE COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE IN JAMAICA. GUVENDIREN WAS PARTICULARLY CRITICAL OF LANGUAGE IN THE COMMUNIQUE WHEREBY COMMONWEALTH MEMBERS EXPRESSED "THEIR SOLIDARITY WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS." IN THIS CONTEXT, THEY COULD ONLY MEAN THE MAKARIOS ADMINISTRATION, SAID GUVENDIREN. GUVENDIREN SAID THE COMMUNIQUE REVERSED THE ORDER OF ELEMENTS WHICH HAD APPEARED IN THE VARIOUS UN RESOLUTIONS. HE ALSO DEPLORED THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMONWEALTH COMMITTEE TO FOLLOW UP IN THE CYPRUS MATTER.

9. GUVENDIREN SAID THAT UK WAS A GUARANTOR STATE, WITH TREATY OBLIGATIONS TOWARD CYPRUS. THE UK WAS DUTY BOUND TO CONSULT WITH THE OTHER GUARANTORS BEFORE MAKING SUCH MOVES AS DESCRIBED ABOVE. THE GOT HAD COMMUNICATED ITS DISPLEASURE TO HMG AND RECEIVED "UNACCEPTABLE EXPLANATIONS" IN RETURN.

10. THE WORST RESULT OF THE COMMONWEALTH ACTION, SAID GUVENDIREN, WAS THAT IT HAD ENCOURAGED INTRANSIGENCE ON THE GREEK CYPRIOT SIDE AND AROUSED INDIGNATION AMONG TURKISH CYPRIOTS. THIS DID NOT HELP THE GOT IN ITS EFFORTS TO FOSTER A CALM ATMOSPHERE FOR THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS.

11. FINALLY, GUVENDIREN TURNED TO THE GREEK-TURKISH TALKS. HE SAID HE WAS STILL HOPEFUL THAT THE TWO FONMINS WOULD GET TOGETHER BEFORE THE BRUSSELS NATO MEETING. HE EXPRESSED THE PERSONAL
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VIEW THAT BITSIOS SHOULD KNOW THAT CAGLAYANGIL WAS NO RPT NO GUNES. CAGLAYANGIL WOULD NOT "WAVE THE FLAG" DURING THE CONVERSATIONS BUT WOULD GIVE BITSIOS A FULL HEARING. HE HOPED THAT BITSIOS WOULD REMAIN EQUALLY CALM AND COLLECTED.

12. GUVENDIREN CONCLUDED BY SAYING HE HAD JUST SEEN A REPORT OF A CONVERSATION ESENBEL HAD HAD WITH HARTMAN A DAY OR TWO AGO. ESENBEL HAD ACCURATELY SET FORTH GOT POSITION IN THIS TALK, SAID GUVENDIREN.
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